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THE RETURN OF THE EXILES.

A LECTURE DELIVERED AT LAGOS, WEST AFRICA, JANUARY
2, 1891, BY PROF. EDWARD W. BLYDEN, L.L. D.

It affords me great pleasure to stand before you to-night to greet for the first time a Lagos audience; and, if your Excellency* will permit me to say so, I feel it a special privilege to have come to this settlement during your administration, and while you are stimulating an enterprise upon which alone, among many agencies, I believe that the rapid regeneration and permanent prosperity of Africa depend; I mean the Repatriation of the Exiles from the Western Hemisphere. And it is a source of further gratification to me to know that in your efforts in this direction you are supported by a band of officials, foreign and native, who share in your sagacious appreciation of that great work, and do everything to render efficient co-operation in all the statesmanlike schemes for the good of the country and the people which you are endeavoring to carry out.

As I intimated a few days ago to a committee of gentlemen whom I had the honor to receive, I look upon Lagos as one of the most hopeful spots in West Africa. Notwithstanding all I had heard of the developments here I was taken by most exhilarating surprise when I entered the lagoon and witnessed the evidences of material growth before me—the result of only thirty years of peaceful and judicious administration.

As I gazed with something like rapture at the scene, I was reminded of some of the cities in the Southern States of America which I visited a year ago, especially Charleston, South Carolina,

* Governor Sir Alfred Moloney, K. C. M. G.

Jacksonville, Florida, though the advantage seemed to me and away in favor of Lagos, considering the remote date of the origin of those cities compared to that of this "Liverpool of West Africa." And when I landed and saw the inhabitants the comparison was still suggested by the large population of unmixed Africans. The cities of Charleston and Jacksonville, from the color of the people who throng their streets, may be called African cities in America; and from its business-like appearance, as well as the novelty of everything—the newness of its improvements—Lagos might be called an American city in Africa.

But I was very much struck by the difference in the general bearing of the people here. They resembled their brethren across the sea in nothing but their color. While it is true that the only original thing produced in the Southern States—that which may be said to be most distinctly American—is the music of the exiles, still there is, in spite of their inexhaustible melody, an evident air of depression and unrest about them—a sullen acquiescence in their surroundings. Although they have charmed the ears and melted the hearts of nobles and crowned heads in Europe by their unparalleled gift of song, yet for them the keynote of their music is degradation and despair. They are exiles kept in perpetual dread, carrying about with them the marks of their besetting and obtrusive infirmities. Their constant and pervading feeling is that of the character in Wordsworth :

My apprehensions come in crowds;
I dread the rustling of the grass;
The very shadow of the *clouds*
Have power to shake me as they pass.
I question things and do not find,
One that will answer to my mind;
And all the world appears unkind.

On the other hand, the visitor to Lagos sees in the people—in the openness of their countenance, the brightness of their eyes, the freedom of their movement—a fullness of life. We see men, and women, and children, living in the joys of home ; and there is not a breathing of the common wind that blows which does not inspire them with the love of that home. The trees and the

clouds, the sluggish rivers, the quiet waters of the lagoon, the boisterous and perilous bar, are all their own.

And for the exiles who have returned, Lagos has all the *elements* of genuine patriotism. The natural beauty and fertility of the country, the increasing development of its material resources—the noble names among their ancestors—the lives of kings and warriors of their own blood, of whom they have heard—the great deeds these heroes have performed—the legendry and historical songs and ancient dances of the tribes—all become inspirations. No suspicion haunts them that the country will ever be taken from them. They rest, not only in the conviction, but in the consciousness that it is theirs by divine right, preserved for *them* by divine interposition, however for temporary purposes, and in small localities, it may be ruled by foreigners.

Despite of every yoke she bears,
This land of glory still is theirs.

I have visited the quarter of the Brazilian Repatriates, and I have been deeply impressed by the results of their labors and enterprise, under the impulse of the spirit of freedom. They are drinking in the healing and invigorating influences of their new surroundings. They are taking advantage of the unquestionable advantages they enjoy in the land of their fathers.

The use of their own language, which *the* people of Lagos have not only retained, but are sedulously cultivating, is another element of joy, of safety, and of strength. In their religious gatherings, in their secular meetings, the use of their mother-tongue must give, for the majority, clearness, precision, and vigor to their expressions, and carry force to the mind of the hearer, of which the English language, even in its simplest form, must always be shorn.

But we must remember that it has not always been so in Lagos. Less than fifty years ago the place now occupied by this beautiful settlement was the scene of all the horrors which have ever marked the track of the piratical monsters who disgraced humanity by their atrocious deeds; good government was unknown, and utterly impossible under the fiendish proceedings of those

enemies of the human race who infested the coast. Agriculture and honest trade were constantly interrupted by raiding from within, and rapine from without. Spoliation and bloodshed was the order of the day.

What a change has been wrought even within the short life of a generation! English Christianity and philanthropy, as well as English statesmanship and commercial enterprise, have brought about the present promising state of things; and wherever England holds sway on this coast, and indeed where she does not hold sway, the prayer of the natives constantly is, "God save the Queen."

Africa's relation to the rest of the world has always been strange and peculiar. Her people have not mingled with the rest of mankind, except to render service—to give help in times of emergency; while there seems to have hung over the country the unalterable decree of prohibition against the incursion of foreigners.

The nations of antiquity all tried their hands—Phœnicia, Greece, Carthage, Rome. The Mediterranean nations vied with each other in endeavors to occupy the country; but they could hold only the northern margin, and for only brief periods. As we read the Providential purpose in the events of history, past and contemporary, we see that God's plan is against the extensive occupation of this Continent by foreigners. This the statesmen of antiquity found out after repeated and disastrous failures. Cæsar Augustus, during whose reign Rome was mistress of the world—whose decree that all the world should be taxed brought about the fulfillment of a wonderful prophecy which Christendom has recently been celebrating, and who, like the poets of his day, believed in the destiny of Rome to sway universal empire—yet left earnest counsel and direction in his will that the Romans should never invade Africa. And England, which, in her colonizing genius, and in the extent of her empire, is the modern antitype of Rome, has until very lately been acting in the spirit of the advice of Augustus. She has been unwilling to take up lands in the vast equatorial regions of this country; but recently she has been forced to depart from her policy by the intermeddling activity of others, whose enterprises, however, whatever promise

they may now present, must give way to the inexorable destiny which guards the continent. Lord Salisbury, in his speech in the Guildhall a few weeks ago (November 9th, 1890), informed the world that England's departure from her traditional policy with regard to Africa was an intervention to prevent such an intervention as would interfere with the interests of Great Britain, and therefore with the interests of civilization and humanity. His lordship vindicated his desire to acquire "large stretches of African territory and to place them under the British flag," by reference to the important fact that "every bit of the world's surface that is not under the British flag is a country which may be, and probably will be, closed to England by a hostile tariff." If this had been thought of thirty years ago, Sierra Leone would not now be hampered on the north in its commercial growth; and considering how much England has done to open up that region, the whole of the territory between the Niger and the Atlantic, with the exception of small strips, would now be under British rule.

The ancients, who were at the beginning of things, saw many truths, which, forgotten in the course of time, men are only now recovering. The Greeks looked upon the interior of Africa as a place for the abode of the gods, not for ordinary men. They made their divinities leave the summits of Olympus, and betake themselves annually to the country of the Ethiopians. It is now certain that, forty centuries ago, Homer knew of those mountain kings with their mantle of cloud and snow—Ruvenzori and Kilimanjaro. Perhaps it was upon the inaccessible summits of these African Alps that they planted the seat of the gods.

And what is significant is, that not only could the great men of antiquity—warriors and kings and statesmen—make no impression upon Africa, but even their gods failed to leave any mark. No writer has told us that these periodical visits left any trace of their having occurred. To Ethiopia came Jupiter with his thunderbolts; Juno with her arts and sciences; Apollo with his brightness and music; Venus with her beauty and love; Mars with his war—the whole Olympian circle, but they produced no impression upon the country; at least, even the fertile imagina-

tion of their worshippers could invent none. Africa has always resisted and thrown off foreign influences, because those influences, even of the highest character, have come modified with elements injurious to the country. Jupiter came with his incest and adultery; Saturn with his cannibalism; Venus with her profligacy; Apollo with his cruelty; Mars with his sanguinary disposition.

Europe then, even in the days of her heathenism, though the very best of her productions, according to her highest conceptions, were in constant intercourse with Africa, had no influence upon her. There was nothing in the mythology of Greece or Rome, in the military prowess of Cambyzes or Alexander, in the commercial greed and enterprise of Carthage, to make any permanent impression upon the Continent.

Now let us see whether in the days of her Christianity she has been able to do any permanent work. Everybody knows the fate of the Christian Church established in North Africa. This Church had possession of three thousand towns and villages, and five hundred and sixty Episcopal sees—the Church that produced Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine. After flourishing for centuries, it was driven out by the Saracens who have now held the place formerly occupied by Christians for more than a thousand years. France holds the government of portions of North Africa, but the people are Mohammedans, who enforce the laws of their religion with the assistance or connivance of their foreign rulers.

In modern times, since the revival of the missionary spirit, the Christian Missions have striven to penetrate the continent, but they have had to contend, and they are still contending with insuperable difficulties. Very little has been effected upon the aborigines away from European settlements; and indeed it may be stated that the world has yet to witness the example of a single community, large or small, of free and independent Negroes in the interior who have embraced Christianity as brought to them from Europe. It would seem that neither the climate nor the circumstances of the people will admit of the introduction of Christianity into this country by members of a foreign race. Experience everywhere shows the extreme difficulty and impossibility of the enterprise.

As samples of the uniform experience of missionary operations in Africa, and of the general effect of the climate, even in the most healthy regions, I will quote first from Professor Drummond's book on Tropical Africa, and then from Mr. Stanley's recent book, "In Darkest Africa." Two missionary regions were visited by Mr. Drummond. The first he thus describes :

"Our next stoppage was to pay another homage—truly this is a tragic region—at another white man's grave. A few years ago Bishop Mackenzie and some other missionaries were sent to Africa by the English Universities, with instructions to try to establish a Mission in the footsteps of Livingstone. They came here; the climate overpowered them; one by one they sickened and died. With the death of the Bishop himself the site was abandoned, and the few survivors returned home. Among the hippopotamus-trampled reeds on the banks of the Shiré, under a rough iron cross, lies the first of three brave Bishops who have already made their graves in Equatorial Africa."

The second missionary station on the shore of the upland lake tells a similar tale :

"A neat path through a small garden led up to the settlement, and I approached the largest house and entered. It was the Livingstonia manse—the head missionary's house. It was spotlessly clean; English furniture was in the room, a medicine chest, familiar-looking dishes were in the cupboards, books lying about, but there was no missionary in it. I went to the next house; it was the school; the benches were there and the black-board, but there were no scholars and no teacher. I passed to the next; it was the blacksmith's shop; there were the tools and anvil, but there was no blacksmith. And so on to the next, and the next, all in perfect order, and all *empty*. Then a native approached and led me a few yards into the forest; and there, among the mimosa trees, under a huge grauite mountain, were four or five graves. These were the missionaries."

"I spent a day or two in the solemn shadow of that deserted manse. It is one of the loveliest spots in the world; and it was hard to believe, sitting under the tamariud trees by the quiet lake shore, that the pestilence which wasteth at midnight had made this beautiful spot its home. A hundred and fifty miles north, on the same lake-coast, the remnant of the missionaries have begun their task again, and there, slowly, against fearful odds, they are carrying on their work."

Notice again the following :

"Malarial fever is the one sad certainty which every African traveler

must face. For months he may escape, but its finger is upon him, and well for him if he has a friend near when it finally overtakes him. It is preceded for weeks, or even for a month or two, by unaccountable irritability, depression, and weariness. This goes on day after day till the crash comes—first cold and pain, then heat and pain, then every kind of pain, and every degree of heat, then delirium, then the life-and-death struggle. He rises, if he does rise, a shadow; and slowly accumulates strength for the next attack, which he knows too well will not disappoint him. No one has ever yet got to the bottom of African fever. Its geographical distribution is still unmapped, but generally it prevails over the whole east and west coasts within the tropical limit, along all the river courses, on the shores of the inland lakes, and in all low-lying and marshy districts. The higher plateaux, presumably, are comparatively free from it, but in order to reach these malarious districts of greater or smaller area have to be traversed. There the system becomes saturated with fever which often develops long after the infected region is left behind.

“The really appalling mortality of Europeans is a fact with which all who have any idea of casting in their lot with Africa should seriously reckon. None but those who have been on the spot, or have followed closely the inner history of African exploration and missionary work can appreciate the gravity of the situation. The malaria spares no man; the strong falls as the weak; no number of precautions can provide against it; no kind of care can do more than make the attacks less frequent; no prediction can be made beforehand as to which regions are haunted by it and which are safe. It is not the least ghastly feature of this invisible plague that the only known scientific test for it at present is a human life. That test has been applied in the Congo region already with a recklessness which the sober judgment can only characterize as criminal. It is a small matter that men should throw away their lives, in hundreds if need be, for a holy cause; but it is not a small matter that man after man, in long and in fatal succession, should seek to overleap what is plainly a barrier of nature. And science has a duty in pointing out that no devotion or enthusiasm can give any man a charmed life, and that those who work for the highest ends will best attain them in humble obedience to the common laws. Transcendentally, this may be denied; the warning finger may be despised as the hand of the coward and the profane; but the fact remains—the fact of an awful chain of English graves stretching across Africa.”

Mr. Stanley's experience on the upland plains is not unlike that of Mr. Drummond. At pp. 31–2, vol. II, of *Darkest Africa*, he summarizes his own experience:

“On the plateau of Kavalli and Undussuma Messrs. Jephson, Parke,

and myself were successively prostrated by fever, and the average level of the land was over 4,500 feet above the sea. On descending to the Nyanza plain, 2,500 feet lower, we were again laid up with fierce attacks. At Banana Point, which is at sea level, ague is only too common. At Boma, 80 feet higher, the ague is more common still. At Vivi there were more cases than elsewhere, and the station was about 250 feet higher than Boma, and not a swamp near it. At Stanley Pool, about 1,100 feet above sea level, fever of a pernicious form was prevalent. While ascending the Congo with the wind astern we were unusually exempted from ague; but descending the Upper Congo, facing the wind, we were smitten with most severe forms of it."

Mr. Stanley concludes his reference to the Central African climate thus :

"Therefore it is proved that from 0 to 5,000 feet above the sea there is no immunity from fever and ague; that over forty miles of lake water between a camp and the other shore are no positive protection; that a thousand miles of river course may serve as a flue to convey malaria in a concentrated form; that if there is a thick screen of primeval forest, or a grove of plantains between the dwelling place and a large clearing or open country, there is only danger of the local malaria around the dwelling, which might be rendered harmless by the slightest attention to the system; but in the open country neither a house nor a tent is a sufficient protection, since the air enters by the doors of the house and under the flaps and through the ventilators to poison the inmates."

With regard to the general effect of missionary work in this country, we can not shut our eyes to the facts all around us. The native missionaries on the Niger have been recently censured for not achieving greater spiritual results under what must be regarded as impossible circumstances.

The success of Christianity in apostolic times can not be taken as a standard by which to judge of its progress in unevangelized lands at the present day. Primitive Christianity had this negative advantage, that it was not theoretically presented and practically misrepresented at the same time. The Apostles were not confronted on mission ground by their own countrymen of the same creed, doing openly and with indifference the very things they were commissioned to denounce. Modern commerce in its agents is a most potent drawback to all the ideas held up by the

missionary. The natives have the example of the white and black missionary preaching on the one hand against the very things which the white Christian trader and the black Christian trader are practicing on the other. And the native can not discriminate between the mere professor of religion and its possessor.

Wherever it is thought desirable to plant a mission station as a center of influence, there it is also considered profitable to establish the trading factory; and, as "the children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light," the trader becomes the controlling influence in that region, demanding and securing the services of the *protégés* of the Mission, both male and female, as soon as they have acquired enough training to be serviceable for domestic and other purposes. The missionary is helpless to deal with this evil, while, with tears in his eyes, he sees his work continually neutralized.

The *Church Missionary Intelligencer* for April, 1887, contained a most pathetic example of these trials, as given in a report by Bishop Crowther: "When we come," says the Bishop, "to consider the want of suitable agents for the Mission, either from Sierra Leone or Lagos, now keenly felt, it might appear as if no efforts had been made at the early part of the Mission to train up promising youths from our schools, who might be hereafter employed as teachers in due time. This was not at all neglected. Since the commencement of this Mission, I have sent no less than *fourteen* promising youths to Sierra Leone and Lagos grammar schools and training institutions to be educated, with the intention of employing them as teachers in course of time; but out of this number there are no more than *four* who remain to be thus employed. All the rest have resigned connection with the Society, and are now employed in the service of the national company as agents in the trading factories, or as stokers or engine drivers in their steamers, with the exception of one in our employ as a young carpenter."

When Europe must send out her traders and her missionaries together, holding the present world in one hand and trying to point to the next with the other, missionary societies must not expect to realize those large results which their theory requires.

Apostolic results must have apostolic circumstances. The exigencies of trade—and they are increasing daily—are imperious, and the demands of Christianity are equally so; human nature being what it is, it needs no prophet to foretell which of the two will prevail, where commerce is allowed a free hand to regulate its own operations. The agents of trade feel that their first duty is to promote their business, which is purely worldly and secular. They can not be expected to look after the spiritual or intellectual interests of their customers. To give support and currency to Christian ideas, as Europeans understand those ideas, it is thought by some that the European colony, with its administrative and executive machinery, is necessary; but the effect in favor of the religion of Christ at Sierra Leone, the oldest and the most important of the English colonies, is not considered encouraging even by missionary societies, who deprecate the influence of that colony upon their missions away from the coast.* Sierra Leone is not only a sea-port, but a garrison town, with its drinking saoons and other disreputable houses, the inevitable concomitants, it would appear, of civilization, but entirely unknown in the regions beyond. Christianity can not be said to be in the ascendancy at the other colonies of Gambia, Cape Coast, or Lagos.

In the efforts to spread Christianity in Africa, missionaries generally lose sight of the fact—if, indeed, they are aware of it—that no large number of Africans, *in freedom*, have as yet accepted Christianity. No African tribe, no African chief of influence, has ever become Christian. In the early days of missionary operations in the Congo, some four centuries ago, the natives were baptized as Charlemange baptized the Saxons—"by platoons;" but no such wholesale conversions have since taken place in Africa, and the region where these exceptional scenes were witnessed, has long since relapsed into heathenism. The American and West Indian Negroes, and the Negroes in European Colonies in West and East Africa accepted Christianity either by force of circumstances, or through gratitude for deliv-

* One of the charges against a native missionary in the Niger is that he introduced into his school a Sierra Leone boy.

erance from their enslavers. But very few free and independent men in Africa submit to the religion brought to them from Europe. Canon Taylor says it is too high for them. Perhaps this is true. It has been lifted above Christ by the complications of Europe, from Gospel freeness and universality to theological dogmas and metaphysics; and, as I have just suggested, the progress of European commerce is making matters worse. The problem of introducing Christianity into Africa without the aid of independent colonies of Negroes from the Western Hemisphere, with the experience and discipline of the house of bondage, is impossible of solution.

Well, now the question might occur, Is there to be no foreign missionary work in Africa? If not, what is the meaning of the command, "Go ye into all the world," etc.

The meaning of God's word is often to be arrived at by the light of His Providence. He has declared that "in Christ all the nations shall be blessed,"—that "He will give to him the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession." This promise it is His purpose to carry out; but, so far at least as Africa is concerned, not by the methods now cherished by the great missionary bodies in Europe and America. We can not but entertain feelings of the deepest gratitude to the missionary societies and to the missionaries who have so nobly expended, and are still expending, their lives and treasure in a work in which they are following their very highest convictions of duty. But I think if they would study the two books which lie open before them—the book of revelation and the book of providence—they might be led to consider whether there are not other and more efficient agents who should be introduced to carry on the work. They have attempted to do, and have succeeded in doing, in many respects, a magnificent work for God and humanity. They have poured out money like water, and "have not counted their lives dear unto themselves." I hope that the African will never say a word or think a thought incompatible with the deepest gratitude and admiration for all the sacrifices and expenditures, all the sufferings and trials endured, all the good work accomplished by the band of self-denying men of all

Christian denominations who have come and are still coming from Europe and America to evangelize Africa. But I repeat, that all the experience of the past, and all the experience of the present, assures us that no widespread or permanent work can be done by these means.

Nor is it any better with the secular agencies which are attempting to deal with the African problem. About two years ago we heard of the extensive commercial enterprise in East Africa, carried on by Germans; but the difficulties in the way of success seemed to be too great to be overcome by the money or men at command. We now hear nothing of that great effort.

We have just witnessed the downfall of the "Province of Equatoria," over which for thirteen years Emin Pasha presided, which cost so much money, and of which such large expectations were entertained—pulled down by European hands. "Though I pitied Emin deeply," says Mr. Jephson, "for the disappointment he experienced at seeing his work of thirteen years tumbling in ruins, I could never regret the downfall of the last of the Soudan provinces, with its corrupt Egyptian rule."*

The King of the Belgians, with a heroic philanthropy, has gone on year after year spending an enormous fortune in the endeavor to establish the Congo Free State. Recent intelligence informs us that that State is now on the eve of bankruptcy, its expenditure exceeding its income, after allowing for the subsidies of the King, by £25,000 a year.

The operations of the Niger Company do not offer the most brilliant promise.

The traders, scattered in factories along the coast, lead a gloomy and most forbidding existence while turning over their goods at enormous profits in a trade between the sea-coast and the interior; but as to any impression, good, bad, or indifferent, made upon the country beyond its margin, the descriptive word must be *nil*.

Mr. Edward Dicey, in a recent number of the *Nineteenth Cen-*

*"Emin Pasha and the Rebellion at the Equator," etc. By A. J. Mounteney-Jephson. London, 1890.

tury (Sept., 1890), after a serious and eloquent survey of the difficulties attending the efforts of the Europeans in Central Africa, recommends to the English nation "a policy of masterly inactivity." This would indeed be a very simple, not to say cowardly, method of confronting the grave responsibilities which rest upon Europe with regard to Africa.

The slave trade was begun by England in 1562, when Sir John Hawkins, one of the most renowned naval captains of his time, seized three hundred slaves near Sierra Leone, and sold them to the Spaniards in Hayti.

In 1713 was concluded the famous Assiento Contract, by which the trade was placed in the hands of a company of English merchants for thirty years. From this time the share taken by Great Britain in the slave trade became greater than that of any other nation. The annual importation under the British flag amounted to 60,000 souls, and included two-thirds of the whole annual importation from Africa. The men who carried on this trade were sometimes good men, like the excellent John Newton, the author of the *Olney Hymns*, who was for several years commander of a slave ship, and who made more than one Guinea voyage after his conversion.

Sometimes, perhaps generally, the slave traders were demons in human form. They belonged to all the European nations. Their trade was carried on under Providential control. An inscrutable Providence allowed the Africans to be carried away for a two-fold purpose—to assist in building up a home for the overflow of Europe, and for their own training and discipline. For two hundred years He allowed the traffic, with all its horrors, to go on, unchecked by any public protest, until near the close of the eighteenth century a man was raised up to be the prophet of the Lord, to denounce the nefarious trade, and lead to its abolition on the part of England and subsequently of other nations. It was on the 18th of April, 1791, that Mr. Wilberforce moved in the House of Commons for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the further importation of slaves into the West Indies. After years of conflict, the bill was passed, and the trade received from the British Government the *coup de grace* which led up to the abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions.

God—knowing how He has made the climate, how impossible it is for foreigners to live here and introduce their improvements, and how strong the antagonism of race—provided for the deportation of large numbers of Africans to a distant land, where, as in a severe school, they might be fitted for the work of building up and protecting their ancestral home. That educational training, intense in its almost fabulous bitterness, has lasted now for three hundred years.

Now the time has come for the return of the exiles, and they are the only agency which, whether for religious or secular work, can effect any widespread changes for good. Providence demands restoration. Masterly inactivity is impossible. "Rachel weeps for her children, and refuses to be comforted because they are not." Her cry is, "Give me back my children!" The world at large seems as yet deaf to the wailings of the bereaved at home, and to the cries for relief of the exiles beyond the sea. They have poured out thousands for the rescue from Africa of two individuals only who did not wish to be rescued—men who loved the people and the scenes amid which they lived and were devoted to the work in which they were engaged. The twenty thousand pounds spent for the rescue of Emin Pasha could have planted on this coast or in the interior a flourishing settlement of industrious Negro agriculturists from the United States or the West Indies who in a few years would have redeemed a large district for civilization and made important additions to the valuable articles of commerce. Surely "blood is thicker than water;" and "to him that hath shall be given," even when he says, "I do not want." But the final ground of judgment will be, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least," etc.

In the mysterious work to be done in this mysterious land we have two types of the agencies thus far employed, both English—Sir John Hawkins, who represents the inauguration of the trade, or the despoiler, and Mr. William Wilberforce, who represents the extinguisher of the evil. Who shall represent the Restorer? I may be allowed to say that the name of Moloney will in years to come be cited as that character. He is the only representative of Great Britain, in official position, who has announced it as a

public policy to repatriate the exiles. He is the only British officer who has as yet practically recognized the gravity of the African situation, and the grandeur and glory of the work of restoring to their country the long-lost exiles. In the annals of the future, Hawkins, Wilberforce, Moloney, will stand for the three great facts or agencies in the work of African development. I must confess that I feel something of indignation as well as regret to be obliged to couple the two last names with the first. But in history such incongruous associations sometimes occur. We have Jesus of Nazareth and Judas Iscariot. Their names are often mentioned together in the gospel history.

With regard to Lagos itself, there have been other governors who have done much and noble work for the improvement of the settlement. The name of John Hawley Glover will never be forgotten for his self-denying and important labors; and it is interesting to see that a magnificent structure, now in course of construction, will soon adorn and beautify your city as a fitting memorial of his work and achievements. So, in the history of West African governments, the names of Sir Charles McCarthy, Sir Arthur Kennedy, and Sir John Pope Hennessy will forever stand prominent. They, however, had predecessors in their line; but the place of the pioneer in any great movement must always be unique. Columbus discovered America. He will always occupy that unapproachable eminence, however others may have utilized his discovery in a way far beyond his most enchanting dreams. Bishop Crowther must always stand first in the history of any native church whatever form it may take. That name must forever be honorably identified with the history of West African Christianity. So, in the history of repatriation under British auspices, the name of Sir Alfred Moloney must lead the train of successors in that line that must come after him; some, perhaps, to do in larger measure the work he has inaugurated.

The time is now ripe for the return. The American Colonization Society has been for more than two generations pointing out the repatriation of the exiles as the only Providential plan for Africa's regeneration, and sending home from time to time repatriates in small numbers. But the world generally, especially England,

has not been ready for this work. Philanthropic and commercial associations still think that their methods for the regeneration of Africa are the most promising. But after a few more decades of exhaustive expenditure, the whole civilized world, secular and religious, will turn to the only Heaven-ordained agency for the great work—viz., the Africans in exile.

I must not omit to mention here, and to put on record, the expression of my admiration and gratitude for the important part which the British and African Steam Navigation Company and the African Steamship Company have taken in forwarding the work of repatriation; indeed, those companies and their enterprising agents have done more within the last forty years than any other single agency to promote and develop African civilization in all its most healthful phases; and to them Africans owe a great and inextinguishable debt.

The S. S. "Biafra" left here a few days ago on her second voyage in the work of the restoration.

It will send a thrill of deepest joy throughout the ranks of thousands of anxious and expecting Negroes in North America when they learn that steam communication has been established between West Africa and South America for the especial purpose of aiding the return of the exiles.

And not only is there a preparation going on for this work in the hearts and minds of the exiles, but men of influence in England and America are being stirred up to take interest in the question. A copy of a letter was sent to me a few days ago, written by an English clergyman, Rev. Francis P. Flemynge, LL. D., F. R. G. S., on the subject, to G. W. Neville, Esq., who has taken so active a part in bringing steam to the aid of would-be repatriates in Brazil. The letter is dated September 25, and is as follows:

"That over one million of negroes should be anxious to return to their native land, and be prevented by poverty alone, has so stirred my compassion that I have resolved to try at once and form an 'African Repatriation Relief Society' for the purpose of collecting funds to give free and assisted passages to these poor creatures from Brazils and Havana to Africa.

"I have already written to several friends who I hope will assist me, and I have laid the matter before Lord Salisbury and other authorities.

"I propose to form a society totally irrespective of all religions or politi-

cal differences of opinion, and purely based on philanthropic principles, to try and carry out this laudable object. I hope I do not overrate the generosity of Britain, but I can not but believe that there are thousands who will be glad to help us.

"I propose returning to England next spring. Between this and then I shall hope to have all afloat, and then I would undertake a crusade, holding meetings in all the large towns and manufacturing centers."

It is hardly necessary for me to stop here to recount the advantages which would flow from the return of experienced agriculturists and skilled mechanics; the influence they would exert upon the tribes in reconciling their differences, settling their wars as disinterested mediators and arbitrators, and the lessons they would impart in the various elements and appliances of civilized life. Imagine the result of one hundred thousand Negroes from America settled in the Yoruba country, with their knowledge of, and practice in the use not only of the implements of peace, but of the instruments of war. What would become of the King of Dahomey, with his sanguinary customs and his murderous periodical raids? And what should we not witness in that glorious country as the result of a few years of uninterrupted peace! This is a work you must at once see that no other agency can accomplish. Our brethren then will return. What is the part of those of us who are at home? We are to prepare to welcome them (as I am glad to see you are already welcoming them), and make them feel the abounding and overflowing joy of the return.

PRESIDENT CHEESEMAM, OF LIBERIA.

BY HON. C. T. O. KING.

JOSEPH JAMES CHEESEMAM, who was elected President of Liberia by an overwhelming majority on the 5th of May, 1891, was born in Edina, Grand Bassa County, then the Colony of Liberia, on the 7th of March, 1843. His parents were among the founders of Liberia, and from his infancy the subject of our sketch had to grapple with the difficulties which confronted those who were endeavoring to plant a Christian State in the strongholds of heathenism.

The parents of President-elect Cheeseman appreciated rightly the importance of education, and secured to their son such advantages as their circumstances permitted ; and he made the best of his opportunities, and laid a foundation in his youth which has done him good service in after life. In 1859, when Mr. Cheeseman was but 16 years old, his father died, and upon the son's shoulders devolved the care and support of his mother and a large family; a duty which he discharged nobly.

On the 8th of January, 1865, he married Miss M. A. Crusoe, who proved to be in very deed a "helpmeet," for while she possessed the qualities which enable her to adorn and grace the eminent station to which her husband's energy and ability have raised her, and she also possessed those other qualities which fitted her to share his struggles.

Mr. Cheeseman, in 1868, was ordained and became pastor of the First Baptist Church in Edina, which position he still holds. In the years 1872, 1873, and 1874 he was elected President of the Liberia Baptist Association, and in 1871 he was appointed Superintendent of Missions by the Southern Baptist Missionary Convention of the U. S. A. In 1880 he was elected President of the Liberia Baptist Missionary Convention, which post he still occupies.

Mr. Cheeseman served in the militia of the Republic until the year of his ordination (1868), at which time he resigned the position of adjutant of the 2d Regiment, which he had held from the 15th of September, 1865.

He has held the following civil offices : Clerk of the County Courts of Grand Bassa County under Presidents Benson and Warner (1862-68); Collector of Customs of the Port of Grand Bassa, under Presidents Roye and Roberts (1872-75) ; Member of the House of Representatives from 1875-79 (two terms), after which he declined to be re-elected, and he also declined a nomination to the Senate ; and also as Judge of the Superior Court of Grand Bassa County, to which position he was appointed in 1884 by President Johnson, and the duties of which office he has discharged in a most able and satisfactory manner.

Mr. Cheeseman is also a merchant, and the energy and intelli-

gence which have characterized him in other walks of life have not been wanting in this and have enabled him from small beginnings to win a prominent place among the merchants of the West Coast of Africa.

Mr. Cheeseman is a many sided man and while carrying into practice the injunction "whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might," he has fairly won a place in the hearts of his fellow citizens, and they have learned to trust him as one who will do his duty, be it in a high or low station, faithfully.

Quick to perceive the wants of his fellow citizens, he is prompt to do what lies in his power to aid them in supplying those wants, and his keen perceptive faculties backed by indomitable energy enable him to do far more than one would think possible with the materials at hand.

We trust that these qualities may enable him to grapple successfully with the grave problems which will confront him as President of the Infant Republic over whose destinies he has been called to preside at a critical period.

MONROVIA, *September 2, 1891.*

THE RECENT ELECTION IN LIBERIA.

FROM OUR MONROVIA CORRESPONDENT.

The biennial election in Liberia is over, and has resulted in the election of Hon. J. J. Cheeseman by an overwhelming majority. This result was to be expected. The honorable gentleman who has been elected was supported by the two recognized parties in the Republic, and counted among his adherents nearly every man of means, intelligence, and standing in the country.

The National Reform Party, as the party that nominated Col. A. D. Williams called itself, seemed to have sprung from a discontent which a certain class in the Republic felt at the current of events which, sweeping away the old barriers of prejudice, is bearing the Republic forward to a more just and liberal policy, and opening more and more her doors to the influx of progressive ideas and lucrative enterprise, such as must inevitably tend

to develop her resources, and place her *en rapport* with the civilized world. The National Reformers, ignoring the laws of national and individual existence (which are always enlisted on the side of progress), entered the political arena with the avowed object of restoring the reins of power to an *effete* class, who, springing from the noble sires who founded Liberia, but neglecting to imitate the virtues of their fathers, feel themselves entitled to monopolize all the honors and emoluments of the State, to the exclusion of efficient men, and who, in order to do this, are desirous of closing Liberia's doors to foreign capitalists and foreign enterprise on the one hand, and to restrict the incorporation of the natives around her into the body politic on the other; as either of these would tend to bring into positions of influence men born either in Liberia or elsewhere, but outside of their class, with whom experience has shown they are unable to cope. Of course they were defeated. There are no retrogressive reforms, and while at first the cry of "Reform" and the very just objections which they urged against things which undoubtedly needed reform, attracted into their ranks some of the best men in the Republic, yet their influence was short-lived, for it was soon found that their methods and principles were subversive of good order and inimical to progress.

The result of this discovery was that many who were inclined to favor them came out against them or maintained a neutral position, while others, although nominally remaining in their ranks, ceased to take any active part in their efforts to obtain control of the affairs of the Republic.

Nothing is more natural and nothing perhaps more conducive to the well-being of nations than the feeling of gratitude which induces nations to revere as something beyond the common the children of their great men and to expect to find in them the virtues of their fathers, but *noblesse oblige* and the children of such men can not expect to enjoy the advantages accruing from such feeling unless they show themselves sensible of the worth of their fathers by striving to walk in their footsteps.

Liberia needs leaders. If she can find them in the sons of her founders, happy will it be for her, for they will bring to her aid

reserves of influence and treasures of experience which others must lack. This has been the secret of the successful public career of the distinguished gentleman who will in a few months lay down the reins of power which he has held for the last eight years—years during which not a few seed of future greatness have been planted and not a few seed of evil uprooted. But if men to whom she would naturally turn prove incompetent, unworthy, or indifferent to her welfare, God will raise up others and the people will follow them. If the election has demonstrated anything, it has demonstrated this, and we trust the gentleman who will assume the reins of power in January next will prove to be a Heaven-sent leader, and that under his control Liberia will continue her course along the path of progress.—*The Sierra Leone Weekly News*.

MONROVIA, May 29, 1891.

AFFAIRS AT GRAND BASSA, LIBERIA.

FROM OUR GRAND BASSA CORRESPONDENT.

In attempting to give you a summary of Liberian news I have first to say that since the breeze of the political campaign has blown over nothing of very great moment has transpired. We notice particularly the resignation of Hon. Judge Cheeseman—the newly-elected President—of his seat on the Bench on Wednesday the 8th inst., at the close of the June Session of the Court of Common Pleas and Admiralty. The Court Hall was crowded with officials and citizens in general. The Bar being filled by the usual occupants, all sat in silence awaiting the arrival of the hour of 12 o'clock m., when the suspense was relieved by the announcement at the door by the sheriff that the Court adjourn *sine die*.

The judge in his usual, easy, and dignified manner then rose from his chair and delivered an eloquent valedictory address to the gentlemen of the Bar and citizens of Grand Bassa County, after which Counsellor I. N. Roberts, senior counsellor at the Bar, replied in an able and rhetorical speech. In conclusion of

these very interesting and impressive exercises the "Liberian Anthem" was sung, while Mr. N. D. Weaver, deputy sheriff, performed at the organ. At 2 o'clock the judge was entertained at luncheon at the residence of Hon. J. S. Smith, which was prepared by the members of the Bar, consisting of Counsellors I. N. Roberts and J. W. Worrell, Attorneys E. L. Brumskine, S. F. Burns (County Attorney), N. L. Nichols, A. J. Words, J. T. Williams, C. B. Reeves, and J. A. Toliver. Among other gentlemen present were Superintendent Major J. D. Summerville, the Mayor of the city of Buchanan, J. H. Logan, Judge S. S. Herring, Lieut.-Col. J. C. Gross, Hon. W. Brumskine, J. H. Early, Esq., Hon. J. S. Smith, and N. L. Weaver, Esq., deputy sheriff, associated with the following ladies: Mesdames M. A. Cheeseman, wife of the President-elect, A. C. Brumskine, W. E. Summerville, J. R. Horace, M. A. Herring, C. J. White, and C. Weaver, whose company contributed no little to the pleasant entertainment of the afternoon.

After a sumptuous and most delightful repast, and the ladies having retired, the following toasts were proposed and responded to with enthusiasm: The health of the "President of the Republic," associated with the name of his representatives by Judge Cheeseman, to which the Superintendent replied. The health of the "retiring Judge and President-elect," by Lieutenant-Colonel Gross, which was instructively replied to by Mr. Cheeseman. "The Bar," by Hon. W. Brumskine, to which Hon. C. B. Reeves replied in a brilliant speech. "The Major," by Lieutenant-Colonel Gross, to which his Honor J. H. Logan replied in his usual laconic style. Sentiments of respect and regret were expressed by all present to the President-elect, in view of his retirement from the office of Judge of the County of Grand Bassa, on which with untiring energy and indefatigable efforts he has successfully endeavored to maintain the interests of his fellow-citizens and the honor of the Republic. The health of the "Ladies of Grand Bassa," by Judge S. S. Herring, was replied to by Lieutenant-Colonel J. C. Gross.

In closing the entertainment, and bidding adieu to our much-esteemed and faithful servant, Counsellor Roberts in tones of elo-

quence appealed to the Almighty giver of every good and perfect gift for a successor to fill the post now left vacant by one whose career as a public man and whose reputation as a judge have been so elevated that a successor all around would be difficult to find.

HARTFORD, GRAND BASSA, *July 21, 1891.*—*The Sierra Leone Weekly News.*

PENNSYLVANIA COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

REPORT OF THE BOARD OF MANAGERS.

It was hoped by the Board at one time that greater facilities of commercial intercourse with Liberia and the whole West Coast of Africa would be opened up through the Postal Subsidy Bill lately enacted by Congress, and they bent their efforts in that direction, but the Steamship Bill, though pushed with great interest and energy, failed to become a law.

It is worthy of note that the rooms in which the meetings of the Society are held and the business transacted have been put in better order, and in every way made more comfortable.

On the 28th of May there sailed from New York for Liberia 54 emigrants. Secretary Coppinger, of Washington, says : " I consider this the most promising company in every respect we have sent for many years. They gave some \$700 towards the cost of passage, and they are known to have at least \$2,000 in greenbacks with them on the ship to begin life anew in Africa."

It becomes our sad duty to pay tribute to the memory of two members of the Board whom death hath taken from our midst, Mr. Peter Sheaffer, of Pottsville, Pa., and Mr. Ed. S. Morris, whose whole life was devoted to the cause of colonizing the Negroes in Liberia ; and it is with great sorrow that we also chronicle the death of Mr. J. H. B. Latrobe, fifth President of the American Colonization Society, first and foremost in the great enterprise. After a long life spent in doing the Master's work here he has gone to his reward.

On the whole, your Board would say that while all expectations have not been realized during the past year, yet in the retrospect there is much to be thankful for.

PHILADELPHIA, *October 12, 1891.*

HIS WISH WAS GRANTED.

BALTIMORE, 'October 29, 1891.

To the Editor of the American :

I beg to hand to you a copy of verses sent me since the death of Mr. John H. B. Latrobe, late President of the American Colonization Society, written by him June, 1832. Possibly they were written off-hand, as was often his habit, and, judging from the source from which they came to me, were probably handed to Mr. John G. Proud, at that time associated with him in the African Colonization movement.

Respectfully,

G. W. S. HALL.

Oh, were I left to choose the fame
That ever more might cling
Around the mention of my name,
Like ivy on a tower close clustering—
The Triumphs, trumpet told, of war,
The Senate's plaudits, and the crowd's hurrah,
Might all unnoticed ring.
Potosi's teeming mine, Golconda's sunny gem ;
Aye, all the powers that boast the diadem,
I'd hold as worthless, spurn unsought,
If but a single voice
Of Gratitude, unbought,
From Africa should say
I'd made one heart rejoice,
Or, in that heathen land, had caused one soul to pray.

JUNE, 1832.

THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY will take place in the Church of the Epiphany, Washington, D. C., on Sunday evening, January 17, 1892, at 7.30 o'clock, when the Annual Discourse will be delivered by the Right Rev. Henry C. Potter, D. D., Bishop of New York.

The Annual Meeting of the Society for the transaction of business, including the election of a President and Vice-President, will be held in the Colonization Building, Washington, D. C., on the next succeeding Tuesday, January 19th, at 3 o'clock p. m.

The Board of Directors will begin its annual session at the same place and on the same day at 12 o'clock m.

ITEMS OF INTELLIGENCE.

THE BRUSSELS AGREEMENT.—We are much gratified to find that there has been a movement, apparently simultaneous and without concert, on the part of many representative bodies in the United States to petition the United States Senate to assent to the ratification of the Brussels Agreement for the suppression of the slave and liquor traffics in America. The American Board, at its recent meeting, appointed a Committee, consisting of Rev. Dr. Storrs, Presidents Angell and Rankin, D. Willis James, and Hon. Chester Holcombe, to present a memorial to the United States Senate on the subject. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church has also spoken clearly its sentiments, and petitions are being numerously signed by citizens asking the assent of the Senate to the agreement. The Congregational Club of Chicago has also forwarded resolutions on the subject. We trust that from every quarter petitions will reach our Senate that shall show it that the Christian and philanthropic people of the land are in earnest in desiring the suppression of this infamous traffic in liquor in which many citizens of our country are engaged.—*The Missionary Herald*.

INCREASE IN THE RUM TRAFFIC TO AFRICA.—It is with a sense of profound sorrow, not unmingled with shame, that we are compelled to face the fact that within the past year there has been a great increase in the exports of rum from Boston to Africa. Since 1885, when 803,437 gallons were exported, down to 1890, there was a gradual decrease in the exports, so that the figures on June 30, 1890, showed only 251,501 gallons exported during the previous twelve months. But for the year ending June 30, 1891, 808,737 gallons were exported to Africa from the port of Boston, the money value being \$964,694. In the year ending June 30, 1890, the total amount exported from the United States to Africa was 555,749 gallons, while the next year the amount was 1,025,226 gallons. This is deplorable. It seems that new areas in Africa are opened for the traffic, for, while in the year 1889-'90 no rum was exported to the French Possessions in Africa, in the year 1890-'91 a total of 193,852 gallons were sent to these French Possessions. Do not these facts present a mighty argument in favor of a ratification of the Brussels Agreement? Nothing can stop this desolating tide except concerted action on the part of the nations. The greed of gain will lead to new enterprises for the enlargement of the market for strong drink unless the great powers unite to stamp out the traffic.—*The Missionary Herald*.

GERMAN SUPPRESSION OF AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.—One of the most powerful private associations to which the recent anti-slavery movement

has given birth is the African Association of German Catholics. *L'Afrique* reports that this Association holds many public meetings in different cities, publishes a journal—*Gott will es*—and has 10 Diocesan Committees, comprising 1,500 circles and about 200,000 members. The Central Council at Cologne has received more than \$130,000 in money. This is to be spent in African expeditions, in founding safe retreats for threatened Negroes, in missions, orphan houses, etc., all over the German African possessions, and \$6,000 have been given to aid in the transport of the first German steamer for the Victoria Nyanza.

THE ABORIGINES' PROTECTION SOCIETY.—Always in close sympathy with the cause of missions, the Society has lately done honor to Sir Alfred Moloney, a popular West African governor since 1867, and widely esteemed for his just and politic dealing with the natives of the interior. His valuable services to commerce, civilization, and Christianity were appreciated very warmly by philanthropic and missionary workers in West Africa. In reply to an address, Sir Alfred observed that in regard to the education of the natives great credit was due to the various self-sacrificing missionaries, who had been and continued to be the popular educators. He spoke of the need of open and safe roads for the onward progress of the country, and the value that the repatriation of Negroes would be to Africa. The question, he contended, should now be viewed in the Old and New World in the light of retributive justice to Africa for the wrongs inflicted on her in the past. His policy in befriending Negroland had been guided by the three C's—consideration, conciliation, and culture. With a splendid record of success Sir Alfred Moloney has sailed to fulfill his new appointment as Governor of British Honduras.

THE EAST AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.—*The Church Missionary Intelligencer* gives extracts from an important letter from a captain of one of the British navel vessels on the East Coast, with reference to the slave-trade. This officer says: "The establishment of the British Protectorate, the Imperial British East Africa Company, and the German Colony, in this region, has quite altered the aspects of the slave-trade on the Division. So far as I can obtain information during this season, no large cargoes have been attempted to run to Zanzibar or to Pemba, and the trade has resolved itself into a smuggling business in small numbers. German officers state that they know smuggling in small numbers goes on from out-of-the-way places, over which they can yet have no control, and also that a few large cargoes have possibly been run from some of the many creeks in the Lufiji River—probably to Madagascar, possibly to Arabia. Smuggling probably also takes place from about Wasin Island, Kilifi river, and one or two places in the British Sphere to the north end of Pemba. . . . The direct trade to Arabia has assumed very small pro-

portions. . . . The Germans state they will soon be able to stop any wholesale export."

ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN AFRICA.—The *Annuaire des Missions* for 1890, as quoted in *The Church Missionary Intelligencer*, has interesting information in regard to the Roman Catholic missions in Africa connected with the Propaganda. "In Northern and Central Africa there are 191,805 Roman Catholics, 127 stations, 191 churches, 349 priests, 197 educational institutions, 65 institutions devoted to charity. In Southern Africa there are 40,555 Roman Catholics, 97 stations, 139 churches or chapels, 211 priests, 129 educational institutions, 32 charitable institutions. In Insular Africa (including, evidently, Madagascar), there are 166,580 Roman Catholics, 63 stations, 414 chapels or churches, 140 priests, 361 educational institutions, 37 charitable institutions. As regards Insular Africa, these numbers are far exceeded by those connected with the London Missionary Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Society of Friends, the Norwegian Mission, etc. In South Africa also the Protestant Missions embrace far larger numbers, and educational and industrial institutions of a far higher character."

AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARIES IN THE CONGO.—The American Baptist Missionary Union gives the following statistics for its African missions, which are confined to the Congo, for the year ending March 31, 1891: Missionaries, 47; stations, 10; unordained native preachers, 10; self-supporting churches, 1; not self-supporting churches, 5; church members, 454; Sunday school scholars, 261; day schools, 20; native teachers, 14; day school pupils, 770; value of mission property, \$47,490; total expenditures, \$62,536.

KING SOMAYOU.—A young student at the Nichols Latin School at Lewiston, Maine, who goes under the name of Lewis P. Clinton, is really Somayou, King of the Bassa tribe in the Northwestern part of Africa. The tribe occupies a territory running back over the Kong mountains, 500 miles in length and 200 miles in breadth, with an outlet to the sea. In his boyhood Somayou had a strong desire to learn the English language, so that he might trade for his people. With this determination he ran away from his tribe and finally found his way to this country under the care of a missionary. He is not only a good English scholar, but has shown average ability in mastering Latin, Greek, mathematics, and other studies. He contemplates a course in Bates College, after which his plan is to go back to his people; not as a ruler, but for the purpose of establishing a civilized colony and devoting his life and energy to the interests of his people, educationally and religiously. Somayou defrays his expenses at school by lecturing.—*New York Evening Post*.

THE CONGO FREE STATE AND ITS MISSIONS.—There is ground for the statement in the English press that the King of the Belgians has informed the Pope that the Roman Catholic form of Christianity is to be the recognized religion of the Free State, and that His Majesty has placed his African dominions under the direct protection of the Virgin Mary, as the patron saint of the Free State. Gratifying as this will be to His Holiness, it is not supposed that it causes any anxiety to the English Protestant missionaries who have for many years had flourishing missions on the Congo. King Leopold is well disposed to these worthy men, a proof of which has been shown in asking one of the leaders in that region—Rev. George Grenfell—to become a member of the Belgian Commission for the delimitation of the boundary between the Free State and Portuguese territory in the Lunda country. Mr. Grenfell has accepted the invitation, and shortly leaves England for the Congo. The landmarks between the respective territories will doubtless be soon arranged. It is not intended that Mr. Grenfell should take the new missionary steamer, the *Goodwill*. This will follow the missionary in sections, and will be put together on the Congo, where it must become a valuable addition in assisting missionaries and carrying cargoes.

Though slavery is passing away for a considerable distance up the Congo, Mr. Grenfell speaks in sorrowful terms of the ravages of the “infamous drink traffic” caused by the white man. In reducing the natives to a wreck mentally, physically, and morally, Mr. Grenfell said it was an open question whether the horrors of slavery were not less disastrous than the terrible consequences of the drinking habits. They now knew 6,000 miles of river, or a coast line of about 12,000 miles in Central Africa, which gave them access to scores of villages and towns on the banks and their vicinity. In combating the darkest mass of heathendom that the world knew, Mr. Grenfell believes the burden of it will have to be done by the native converts, of whom so many were bravely responding to the need. This was one of the most encouraging features of the work.

THE SOLUTION OF THE AFRICAN PROBLEM.—The month before Mackay of Uganda died *The Church Missionary Intelligencer* published the beginning of an article by this remarkable man on the “Solution of the African Problem.” Recently, in a box of private effects sent home to Mr. Mackay’s family, was found the conclusion of the article, which was apparently the last contribution from the pen of this now sainted missionary, whose head was as clear as his heart was warm. We must give here a striking extract from his brief paper: “The agency by which, and probably by which alone, we can Christianize Africa is the African himself. But he must first be trained for that work, and trained, too, by the European in Africa. Just as the mountains of ironstone in the continent are perfectly useless until first quarried, smelted, and forged by European tools—which were also once nothing but ore, but by means of which alone

it is possible to convert the raw African ore into implements exactly similar to themselves, and capable of replacing them in future work of the kind—so the untrained African mind is absolutely powerless to effect any beneficent results unless first thoroughly trained by those of European tempering. This, too, must be done in Africa itself, for if the European in Africa has proved a difficulty, the African educated in Europe has proved a still more unsuitable instrument for his country's good. It behooves us, therefore, to select with the greatest care a few centers to which Europeans shall have easy access, and where they shall be able to live under comparatively healthy conditions, centers within easy reach of natives within a wide area. . . . Modern educationalists have come to recognize the fact that it is not enough to cram into the student a certain amount of book-knowledge; the eye must be trained to see, and the hand to reproduce, just as much as the mind must be trained to reason. Hence none but *teachers*, born teachers, need ever expect to be able to train Africans to be teachers in their turn. Unless this point is carefully guarded, it will ever prove the weak link in the chain. It has too often been supposed, because a man is a university graduate, or has taken holy orders, that, therefore, he knows *how to teach*. Few greater delusions have prevailed, and Africa has suffered in consequence. . . . It seems to be overlooked by many apparently zealous advocates of missions that in the command to go and Christianize the nations we are expressly told the *method* by which we are to achieve success, namely, by '*teaching them*.' "

ROLL OF EMIGRANTS FOR FENDALL, LIBERIA.

By Bark "*Liberia*," from New York, October 31, 1891.

From Winneboro, S. C.

No.	NAME.	AGE.	OCCUPATION.	RELIGION.
1	Ellen Gibson.....	52		
2	Frazer Gibson	8		

From Ocala, Florida.

3	Henry W. White.....	33	Farmer.....	Methodist.
4	Robert O'Neill.....	50	Farmer.....	Baptist.

From Lady Lake, Florida.

5	H. Henry Hart.....	37	Farmer.....	Methodist.
6	Sallie Hart.....	27	.....	Methodist.
7	Thomas Hart.....	8		
8	Eli Hart.....	3		

From Gunnison, Mississippi.

9	James M. Moore.....	37	Farmer.....	Baptist.
10	Susanna Moore.....	35	.....	Baptist.

ROLL OF EMIGRANTS FOR FENDALL, LIBERIA—Continued.

From Lulu, Mississippi.

NO.	NAME.	AGE.	OCCUPATION.	RELIGION.
11	Margaret Turner.....	45	.....	Baptist.
12	Elizabeth Curry.....	27	.....	Baptist.
13	Nathaniel Curry.....	3	.....
14	Osceola Curry.....	Infant.	.....

From Little Rock, Ark.

15	Andrew Ficklin.....	25	Farmer.....	Baptist.
16	Lizzie Ficklin.....	21	.....	Baptist.
17	Florence Ficklin.....	Infant.	.....
18	Lucy Smith.....	43	.....	Baptist.
19	Lavinia Smith.....	14	.....
20	Dixie Smith.....	10	.....
21	George Smith.....	7	.....
22	Jane Smith.....	5	.....
23	Benjamin H. Miller.....	28	Farmer.....	Methodist.
24	Cora E. Miller.....	23	.....	Baptist.
25	Roscoe C. Miller.....	2	.....
26	Pierce Miller.....	Infant.	.....
27	Kelley Whisenant.....	28	Farmer.....	Methodist.
28	Bettie Whiseuant.....	24	.....	Methodist.
29	Abbie Whisenant.....	7	.....
30	Isaac Whisenant.....	Infant.	.....
31	William M. Rodgers.....	27	Farmer.....	Baptist.
32	Sarah Rodgers.....	22	.....	Baptist.
33	William Hammond.....	40	Farmer.....	Methodist.
34	Emma Hammond.....	45	.....	Methodist.
35	Moses Hammond.....	23	Farmer.....	Methodist.
36	Katie Hammond.....	19	.....	Methodist.
37	Hastie Hammond.....	17	.....
38	Rufus Street.....	49	Carpenter.....	Methodist.
39	Mattie Street.....	35	.....	Methodist.
40	Orrie Street.....	16	.....
41	Celina Street.....	14	.....
42	Abbie Street.....	12	.....
43	James Hawkins.....	39	Farmer.....	
44	Willie Shaw.....	24	Farmer.....	Methodist.
45	Narcissus Moore.....	32	Farmer.....	Baptist.
46	Willie Moore.....	21	Farmer.....	Baptist.
47	Mary Moore.....	20	.....
48	Jesse Moore.....	18	.....
49	Dora Moore.....	16	.....
50	Mack Besson.....	33	Farmer.....	Methodist.
51	Ella Besson.....	30	.....	Methodist.
52	John Besson.....	11	.....
53	Samuel David.....	30	Farmer.....	Methodist.
54	Maggie David.....	28	.....	Methodist.
55	Temple David.....	10	.....
56	Paul David.....	9	.....
57	Mattie David.....	7	.....
58	Isaac David.....	5	.....
59	Frederick David.....	3	.....

From Wichita, Kansas.

60	Henry Galloway.....	37	Farmer.....	Baptist.
61	Lettie Galloway.....	35	.....	Baptist.

NOTE.—The foregoing-named persons make a total of 16,349 emigrants settled in Liberia by THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

RECEIPTS OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

During the Month of September, 1891.

NEW JERSEY. (\$10.00.)		INDIAN TERRITORY. (\$15.00.)	
<i>Trenton.</i> —John S Chambers, donation.....	\$ 10 00	<i>Redland.</i> —J. M. M Bradford, toward cost of emigrant passage.....	\$ 15 00
ARKANSAS. (\$93.85.)		FOR AFRICAN REPOSITORY.	
<i>Little Rock.</i> —Andrew Ficklin, \$11; R. P. Davis, \$8.60; and William Rodgers, \$3.50, toward cost of emigrant passage.....	23 10	<i>New Jersey</i>	1 00
<i>Menifee.</i> —H. A. Anthony, \$19, and A. Y. Turner, \$30, toward cost of emigrant passage.....	49 00	RECAPITULATION.	
<i>Plumerville.</i> —Rev. W. A. Diggs, toward cost of emigrant passage.....	20 75	<i>Donation</i>	10 00
<i>Conway.</i> —A. M. Anderson, toward cost of emigrant passage.....	1 00	<i>For African Repository</i>	1 00
		<i>Rent of Colonization Building</i>	78 00
		<i>Applicants toward passage</i>	108 85
		<i>Interest</i>	12 20
		<i>Total Receipts in September</i>	\$210 05

During the Month of October, 1891.

PENNSYLVANIA. (\$800 00.)		LIBERIA. (\$25.00.)	
<i>Philadelphia.</i> —Pennsylvania Colonization Society, John Welsh Dulles, Esq., Treas., to assist in the fall expedition and as basis of representation in 1892.....	\$ 800 00	<i>Sinoe.</i> —Rev. D. W. Frazer, toward cost of emigrant passage of his brother.....	25 00
VIRGINIA. (\$1.00.)		FOR AFRICAN REPOSITORY.	
<i>Alexandria.</i> —Mrs. Mary B. Blackford, donation.....	1 00	<i>West Indies</i>	1 03
ARKANSAS. (\$604.00.)		RECAPITULATION.	
<i>Morrilton.</i> —Abner Downs, \$160; J. W. Polk, \$3.50; and Mrs. A. Black, \$1, toward cost of emigrant passage.....	164 50	<i>Donations</i>	801 00
<i>Plumerville.</i> —Rev. W. A. Diggs, \$213.50, and J. R. Jinnison, \$37.00, toward cost of emigrant passage.....	250 50	<i>Donovan Income</i>	1,229 86
<i>Menifee.</i> —A. Y. Turner, \$100; Albert Morton, \$5; and W. M. Wilson, \$5, toward cost of emigrant passage.....	210 00	<i>For African Repository</i>	1 03
<i>Alkins.</i> —R. P. Pully, toward cost		<i>Rent of Colonization Building</i>	59 00
		<i>Applicants toward passage</i>	629 00
		<i>Interest for schools in Liberia</i>	30 00
		<i>Total Receipts in October</i>	\$2,749 89

During the Month of November, 1891.

NEW YORK. (\$100.00.)		INDIAN TERRITORY. (\$17.00.)	
<i>New York City.</i> —Yates & Porterfield, annual donation.....	\$ 100 00	<i>Muldrow.</i> —Samuel Chatham, toward cost of emigrant passage.....	15 00
ARKANSAS. (\$573.50.)		<i>Hanson.</i> —S. M. Gant, toward cost of emigrant passage.....	2 00
<i>Menifee.</i> —A. Y. Turner, \$152; W. M. Wilson, \$50; Rev. Hiram Brown, \$40; and W. K. Fortson, \$36, toward cost of emigrant passage.....	278 00	FOR AFRICAN REPOSITORY.	
<i>Alkins.</i> —R. P. Pully, \$83; Henry McNeal, \$25; and George Martin, \$7, toward cost of emigrant passage.....	115 00	<i>Hawaiian Islands</i>	2 50
<i>Plumerville.</i> —J. R. Jinnison, toward cost of emigrant passage.....	70 00	RECAPITULATION.	
<i>Morrilton.</i> —Abner Downs, \$43.85; John W. Polk, \$3.40; and M. C. Lightner, \$3.25, toward cost of emigrant passage.....	50 50	<i>Donation</i>	100 00
<i>Fort Smith.</i> —F. L. Allen, toward cost of emigrant passage.....	34 00	<i>For African Repository</i>	2 50
<i>Pinnacle Springs.</i> —M. G. Bailly, toward cost of emigrant passage.....	20 00	<i>Rent of Colonization Building</i>	54 50
		<i>Applicants toward passage</i>	590 50
		<i>Interest</i>	513 89
		<i>Interest for Schools in Liberia</i>	60 00
		<i>Total Receipts in November</i>	\$1,321 39